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pointed out some that did not conform to type they said that those were wrong, but did not attempt any explanation, nor did the discrepancy appear to trouble them at all. One man said they must have got the lines from their fathers.

[171] This belief is found also in Buin, in the extreme south of Bougainville, where it was recorded by Thurnwald (1912, vol. i, p. 536 and Tafel III). He gives drawings of three patterns, one of which, for the Fish-eagle clan (*manugau*), corresponds exactly to the drawing in Fig. 3 for the Naboin (Manu) people.

THE LINEAGE GROUP

The clan is, of course, made up of a number of lineage groups. The separate lineage groups seem to have been, in the olden days, far more self-contained than is the case at present, but even now the lineage functions to some extent as a unit with its own internal organization.

The child whose relations with his fellows we discussed at the beginning of this chapter will be taught from his infancy to regard as the person having most authority over him his mother's eldest brother, whom he calls *tsoanē*, and who calls him *pasunē*. But this man is himself under the authority of his own mother's eldest living brother, as long as any survive. The actual head of the lineage, therefore, is its eldest living male. The small child, however, will not at first realize this, since the man in question, his mother's mother's brother, calls him *tsubna'in*, 'grandson', and shows him all the affectionate attention usual in this community between grandparent and grandchild.

The members of a lineage will often be found living together in a hamlet, on ground which they claim as the property of their clan. As a result of the government policy of encouraging the natives to group themselves together in larger villages, for greater ease of supervision, the hamlet, which seems to have been originally the local unit (and, in the mountain districts, still is), is now becoming merged in the village, so that the lineage group no longer dominates the situation as once it did. The older state of things is best illustrated at Sapoea, where the people are scattered over a number of tiny islands. Each island was designated as the property of a certain lineage group, in some cases for habitation, in some for growing coco-nuts, in some for purposes of burial. At Lemanmanu, on the Lontis coast (NW. Buka), I was told that in the olden

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days the Manu people lived at Lemanmanu and the Kekeleo people at the neighbouring village of Lemankoa, a short distance along the coast. There was great enmity between the two villages, so that people from the one could not go inside the barricade of the other. Intermarriage never took place between them in those days, but now that there is no more fighting they intermarry and live in either the husband's village or the wife's village as they please.

It is not to be supposed that the hamlet was ever composed entirely of members of the lineage, since their spouses stood outside that group. The information at my disposal is not definite enough to show with certainty whether these people were, in the past, more inclined to be matrilocal than they now are, but there seems to be some likelihood that this was the case. This custom prevails, at the present time, to quite a considerable extent, but it appears to be, with certain reservations to be discussed later, a matter of personal preference whether a newly married couple take up their abode with the wife's people or with the husband's, i.e. whether marriage removes a member of the lineage from the hamlet, or adds to it an individual belonging to another clan. In the latter case, though individuals added by marriage form no part of the lineage group with which they are now affiliated by residence, they recognize the authority of the head of that group, without withdrawing their allegiance from the group which is theirs by birth. Sometimes other families connected with the new-comer will come and take up their residence in the hamlet in order to be near their kinsman. The hamlet, and still more the collection of hamlets which constitutes a village, is therefore composed of a number of individuals bound together by all or any of the varied ties of blood, of clan, of marriage, and of locality.

TSUNAUN AND COMMONERS

In each village or group of hamlets there is one lineage group which takes precedence of all the others. This lineage may belong to any clan, and the clan to which it belongs is considered the most important, and is generally the most numerous, in that village. It may be that this group originally formed the nucleus round which the village has grown. The head of such a lineage is called *tsunaun*.[1]

[1] In order to avoid ambiguity I have retained the word *tsunaun* instead of translating it, since there is no single word which gives its sense exactly. 'Person of rank' or 'person of importance' would perhaps be a fair equivalent. No term

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244 Presently a third comes up with a young tree balanced on each shoulder, with which to repair the fence where the pigs have broken through. An old man, entirely unencumbered by clothing of any description, alternately squats and stoops as he clears the patch of the ferns and grasses that tropical sun and rain so persistently replace. Balanced on a stump, beside the glowing embers at which the workers constantly rekindle their perpetual pipes, a baby opossum is being roasted to a turn. On the edge of the cleared patch a young man slashes with a long knife at the tangle of wild banana plants, ferns, creepers, and what-not that makes up the underbrush of a tropical forest where the trees are not too thick. Another young man, carrying a long spear, appears out of the bush where he has been hunting wild pig with the aid of the half-dozen or so lean and mangy mongrels which come bounding after him. With one accord they make a hungry rush for the roasting 'possum, which its owner hastens to retrieve and wrap in a banana leaf. Everybody stops work to light up pipes and listen to the woeful tale of the unsuccessful hunter, who explains why the pig got away. Presently he goes on, taking his curs with him, and work begins again.'

244 462 Although, as has been seen, men may, and frequently do, help with the weeding, the actual planting must on no account be done by them. The reason given by the women was that the men did not know how, and if they did it the taro would not thrive. Those who wish may see in this practice some connexion with the idea of fertility.

244 Taro for the daily needs of the household is continually planted, fresh stalks being put in whenever any are taken out. It is propagated only—so far as my information and observation lead me to believe—by replanting tops of tubers, with the stalks left attached. I have never seen or heard of offsets being used, as is reported by Williams for the Orokaiva (1928, p. 137). Each woman looks after the needs of her own family. But when a great quantity of taro is going to be needed for a special occasion, the whole village works [423] together on a large new clearing, the various sections of which, however, remain the private property of individuals. A man will mark out a patch for each of his wives, and one for his mother, if 244 she lives with him, or any other dependent female relative, including his sister, should she be a widow living in the same village. 343 During the process of clearing some of the more industrious

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244 To prevent pigs from spoiling taro:
789 *Karamuts* (plant unidentified).

Break some pieces of stick from this shrub into lengths of about two inches. Chew its root with the betel-mixture and spit on these bits of stick. Bury the sticks on the road to the taro garden. The pigs will not go into that garden. (Note that this prescription is not regarded as an alternative to good fencing!)

There are also special stones which may be planted in the garden to make the taro grow strong. They are smeared with *oin* and planted without further ceremonial. Those that I have seen are pebbles of volcanic origin, found, so their owners told me, in the beds of rivers that run to the coast from the interior. There are [439] no rivers near Kurtatchi; the stones are obtained by barter from the mountain people and are greatly valued.

244 When a large new taro garden is being made for some special purpose, a ceremony is held. I saw this done on two occasions; 796 once at a taro garden belonging to Kurtatchi, the second time at one belonging to the neighbouring village of Tabut. Both these gardens were being prepared for use at the big feast accompanying the watawutch ceremony. Since the methods of preparation and planting are generally applicable, and the ritual typical, I give an account of the procedure at the Kurtatchi garden in some detail.

Ceremony for Planting New Taro Garden

(*June 9 and 10, 1930*)

The ground had been cleared of everything except the orderly piles of rubbish, the trunks of the larger trees, and the roots of the bush bananas, with their stems standing a foot or so from the ground. On the day before the ceremony the whole cleared space [423] was laid out in plots, roughly square, marked off by long thin logs, each plot being the personal property of one individual. A passage-way about 6 feet wide ran down the middle of the whole ground, the shape of which was roughly rectangular. Part of two men's plots had not yet been cleared, but was still covered with leaves and brush-wood. The men responsible were held up to ridicule as lazy, but the censure was neither meant nor taken very seriously.

All the small bits of stick, leaves, &c., which remained on the plots having been carefully removed, little fires were lighted on each plot, burning dry coco-nut shells. The leaves of a plant (*nets*)

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but other ingredients must be added just before the ceremony takes place.

Into the mixture in the *kōbū* Pinari scraped a small quantity of the red powder called *oin*, which was handed to him in two halves of coco-nut shells. Then, with an air of mysterious dignity which clearly indicated that the action was one of great importance, he produced from the folds of his loin-cloth a very small piece of stone, which looked like some volcanic substance containing sulphur. He scraped a very little of this into the mixture, which, he said, already contained some of it, and then carefully folded the remainder into his loin-cloth again. This stone is called Mumariria. The large stone from which the fragment was taken is at Soamets, a place about twenty miles down the coast to the east. [The stone lies on the edge of a little river where the mangroves grow. It belongs to the Nakarib clan, some members of which are in especially close association with it. One of these was a Soamets woman, now dead, called Mariria. If Pinari's sister's daughter, Rus, should bear a girl child, she will be called Mariria, and will inherit the special association with the stone from her namesake. If a man belonging to any other clan goes near it, the stone 'fights him' and he dies. If men from another village want to buy some of the stone to make 'medicine' for their own taro, Pinari sells them a piece off the back of the stone, which is no good, and will not make the taro grow. But when he wants it for himself he takes it from the front of the stone, then it is very powerful medicine.]

After adding the Mumariria, Pinari called for water, which was brought in coco-nut shells. The contents of three of these were emptied into the mixture, which Pinari then stirred round with his hand.

Meanwhile the other men had been cutting small pieces of wood, each about 4 inches long, carefully measured against one another so that they should be of the same length. There were two kinds of wood, *kunis* and *tario*. The essential thing is that both these are hard wood, and so will cause the taro stalks to grow strong. If sticks of soft wood were used the taro stalks would be rotten and would stink. One piece of each kind was tied up in a bundle with two leaves of *korowin*, one leaf from a variety whose leaves are all green, the other from a kind whose leaves are green on the upper side and red underneath. The stalks of these leaves were

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sex). This applies also to the extension of that relationship beyond the scope of the blood tie as it appears in genealogies (this is discussed on p. 33). No direct payment is offered or expected in such a case, but the recipient is, of course, liable to be called upon in his turn.

Apart from this, the native expects neither to give nor to receive 'something for nothing', unless it be a smouldering ember, which corresponds to our asking for a match.

An exception to this occurs in the case of plantation labourers returning from their three years of service. A certain proportion of their earnings is paid to them as a lump sum at the end of their 'time', and this they usually expend on knives, mouth-organs, and such other trifles as their hearts delight in. But as soon as they return to their own village, friends and relations crowd around, expecting the treasures to be divided amongst them, so that very soon the unfortunate owner has little to show for his labour except the memory of having been for a brief moment the hero of the village.

RECIPROCAL EXCHANGES

There are many occasions on which a presentation of some article, usually a package of ceremonial pudding, is reciprocated by the return, at some future, but not too far distant, time, of a precisely similar article. It would be a gross breach of etiquette to omit to 'back' such a gift in appropriate fashion. When we went to meet the women of Baniu to trade with them for good taro stalks for planting, we took with us some large packets of ceremonial pudding to give to one of them in return for some that had been given on the occasion of Muben's marriage to Kakari several months before.

PROPERTY

Land.

The land belongs to the village group. But the rights in it are vested in the *tsunaun tsan*, the man of greatest importance in the village or group of hamlets. He may sell it, either to other natives or to white men, but in practice he would consult the older men of the village before arranging such a transaction. No such deal went through during my residence, and I have no details of prices or media of payment.[1] Pinari had a grudge against Karabun, the

[1] The District Officer now supervises all buying of land by white people from natives, and adjudicates over the price, which is paid in money. Some of the

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tsunaun tfan at Tabut, because his forefathers had sold the land where the village of Tabut now stands to Karabun's forefathers for a sum which, Pinari contended, covered only the site of the village, and not the bush behind it, potentially useful for taro gardens. The other side claimed that the payment made for the village site was enough for this also. Pinari used to make spasmodic attempts to extract additional payment from Karabun, but without success. 425 565

Land thus vested in the *tsunaun* descends of right to his heir to this office, his eldest sister's eldest son. But all the people of the group have the right to hunt or to gather wild fruits or berries in it, and to take water or fish from pools, or leaves for thatch, &c., irrespective of clan. 423 565

Certain spots, a particular group of rocks, a clump of trees, a pool, are considered to be the special property of one or other of the clans, because some spirit is supposed to dwell there who is intimately concerned with that particular clan. This subject will be further discussed in Chapter XV. 423 614

The amount of land to be cleared for a new taro garden is decided by discussion, according to the purpose for which the taro is required. The garden is held in common in so far as it is enclosed by one fence, which all the men help to erect, but each man sets up a certain portion of this fence, which he is responsible for keeping in good condition. The Petats people divided the plots according to the uprights in the fence, each man taking, as a rule, the space between two uprights for each of his dependants, e.g. wives and children. The Kurtatchi people divide the garden by means of logs laid on the ground (see Pl. 40). At the original division which takes place when the worst of the bush has been cleared from the new garden, each man will take a plot for each of his wives, one for his sister if she be a widow living in the same village, and sometimes others for his children. A little girl can own a plot of taro, which her mother will help her to tend. The mother will probably destroy this taro if the child dies. For the further clearing of these plots from underbrush the man who annexed them is personally responsible, and his womenfolk must plant it and keep it weeded. They are entitled to take the produce for themselves and their families. If any one wants more taro than there is on her own plot, 417 423 621 423

earlier deals are still the subject of dispute, the natives asserting that the white men did not pay all that they promised.

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she must buy it, paying in any commodity that happens to be available. But when a big feast, such as the *watawutʃ*, is held, each must contribute to the common stock for the entertainment of the vast crowds of visitors who will arrive for the occasion.

Portions of land are allotted by the *tsunaun* to any one who wishes to plant coco-nut palms.[1] These trees are then his personal property, and no one would take nuts from them without his consent, except such near relatives as children, or brothers and sisters, both blood and classificatory. However thirsty a man may be while on a journey, he would not think of climbing a coco-nut palm to shake down nuts, unless he came to a grove to whose owner he stood in such relationship.

Ownership is also recognized in certain trees, such as those used for making dug-out canoes, or those valued for their fruit, such as the canarium almond. It may be established by planting the tree, or inherited from a relative who planted. These trees will be on land which, though vested in the *tsunaun*, and said to 'belong to' him, is used by the whole group, as explained in a previous paragraph, so that the ownership of trees is differentiated from the ownership of the land they stand on. To a great extent it is true here, as is described by Thurnwald at Buin (1912, p. 34), that property is connected chiefly with the results of work.

Pigs.

Pigs rank as property next in importance to strings of *imun* and above *beroan*. They are entirely personal possessions, and may be owned by anybody, man, woman, or child. A man with no pigs is regarded as poor, but there is nothing to prevent him from gaining prestige in the village by other means. Sobak, one of the prominent rain-makers of Kurtatchi, had no pigs, and though this was sometimes the subject of rather jeering comment, it did not prevent him from receiving a certain amount of deference in view of his skill at rain-making. But a man without pigs is debarred from certain privileges. For example, only a man who can produce ten pigs may build a *tobar* (boys' house), and those wishing to make use of this *tobar* pay a pig to the owner, except the boys wearing the *upi*, who are exempt.

Each person knows his own pigs individually, treats them as

[1] The Government has now instituted a rule that every man must plant ten coco-nut palms for each of his children at birth.